Carangas — Chipaya

/156 cont./ The framework of the latter is actually formed by faggots
342 of tola (čoksa, čoxsa) solidly bound into cylinders with straw ropes
335 (kxaru) (Pl. VI, B /see p. 215/). They are thrust in the holes of
[824] which we have just spoken and then tied together (Fig. 1, H /see
[883] p. 142/). The number of arches which make up the skeleton of the roof is eight and they are arranged in two groups of four which are superimposed and are fastened at the intersections by solid ligatures. Up to the last moment the framework is held up by props of Cereus wood /157/ /Figure 1 appears here/ /158/ in order to allow the roofers to walk on the arches without making them fall in.

[281] On this frame is spread a sort of linoleum (pirina) made of straw (p^hit) stuck together with mud, the whole forming flexible plates which take the form of the frame. On top of this thin covering, the function of which is to make the roof impermeable, the straw is laid. The roofers receive large bunches of it which are hoisted up with rope. They spread it on the edge of the roof, where
[284] they trample it down by foot. These sheaves are then sewn on the
[413] faggots by means of a long wooden needle (čapa) threaded with straw cord (Fig. 1, A) and wielded by two workers, one inside the hut and the other outside. The needle, after having passed through the linoleum, goes around each of the faggots in turn and returns to encompass a new sheaf of straw. The remaining straw is arranged
[132] in successive layers, imbricated up to the summit. The adherence of this thatch to the roof and its resistance to the terrific gusts of wind on the altiplano is assured by means of a straw net which is
[284] made on the roof itself. The quadrangular or triangular mesh of this net are not exactly knotted but simply made by the intercrossing of a long straw cord which is tightened by traction carried out from below to above in pace with the formation of the net.

[789] The roof is not considered finished until a straw cross surmounts it, which, according to native belief, protects the house from the effects of lightening.

252 Furnishings. The interior disposition of Čipaya huts is most
352 summary. The only furniture of any importance is the earthen stove

[Text Continues on p. 143]

Carangas—
Chipaya

/158 cont./

252 reproduced here (Fig. 2, C /see p. 150/). These stoves are well
352 contained; they are always to the right of the entry against the wall.
252 They are provided with holes for the pots and with a compartment
352 where the stores of taquia, i.e., of dried excrement, are kept. As
372 this substance is the chief fuel on the altiplano and has been through-
235 out time, the use of these stoves, an equivalent of which exists in
no other region of South America, is self-explanatory. This dried
excrement burns with difficulty on an open fire, and like wood
(sup) it is too rare to allow the least heat which emanates from it to
252 be lost. It is hence because of the material and from considerations
352 of economy that the Indians of the altiplano arrived at the idea of
195 constructing these stoves, which are certainly very old since Cobo (1)

[113]

1. Cobo (Bernabé), Historia del nuevo mundo /History of the New World/, for... of the Society of Jesus, published for the first time with notes and other illuatrations by D. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada. Seville, 1893. "In all the houses, however small they may be, there is its cook stove behind the door, which is made of a small clay stove no higher than a handbreadth, closed on all sides, with a small mouth through which they feed the fire, and in the upper part, two or three round holes, where they set the pots. With this they use very little fuel, because they never put in more than two small sticks by the ends, and as they are being burned they are fed in, so that there is more fuel used in one of our cook stoves than in 20 stoves of the Indians."

Carangas—
Chipaya

/158 cont./

252 who mentions them seems to consider them as /159/ indigenous.
352 The smoke escapes through the door, but in some huts, not very
[175] many it is true, a hole in the wall facilitates ventilation.

513 Enormous wool blankets (čusi), extremely heavy, take the place of beds. They are warm enough for one to suffice to cover
513 for the night two or three people, who roll themselves in them. At
175 the beginning of the seventeenth century these blankets were in general use on the altiplano. "The bed which the people of the Sierra and the cold lands use," Cobo tells us, "is a large blanket called a chusi, which is spread on the ground. One half serves as a mattress and the other, which they pull up from the foot end, as a
[177] blanket or sheet. All the inhabitants of one house, fathers and sons, sleep in one blanket, although now under the influence of civilization
351 they are beginning to have separate beds." The present-day Andean Indians sleep on earth benches which are altogether lacking in
[174] Chipaya. One might conclude from this that they were unknown in pre-Columbian times and that they are only a crude imitation of European beds.

In some Čipaya huts one can find a wobbly table made of
[178] old boxes. The Čipaya use them only as an altar on which to place the heads of sacrificed animals or coca that they offer their guests when they celebrate a festival at home. Outside of these occasions the tables have no use.

Several wooden pegs thrust into the wall serve as pegs for clothes. The few articles to be seen are arranged in niches contrived in the wall or on small whatnots of earth shaped like swallows' nests (Fig. 2, F /see p. 150/).

354 To illuminate the always very dark interior of their huts, the Čipaya have tallow candles or, more frequently, very primitive small lamps: bowls (čua), full of tallow in which a wick of wool
[179] burns. This apparatus, which gives them only feeble light, has the Spanish name mecha, a practically certain indication that the idea came to them from the Creoles.

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/163/

/See captions on next page./

/163 cont./

Fig. 2. –Čipaya material culture. Utensils and tools.

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252 A: Baked clay stove of the Aymara Indians.
352
412 B: Wooden spoon (wisl'a).
415 C: Čipaya stove (from a sketch).
A D: Adze with T-shaped blade.
252 E: One-livre stone weight used by the Aymara of Carangas to weigh
412 the potatoes and salt they sell in Chipaya.
804 F: Čipaya whatnot.
G: Mortar (t^{w}ax) (from a sketch).
H: Stone hammer.
I: Axe with T-shaped heel and old hafting.
J: Stone vat (takxira) for treading on quinua seeds (from a sketch).
K: Aymara hoe from the village of Belen (Oruro Department).

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymaras haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayas speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular bee-hive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called *tola*. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy woolen blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes

Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into *chuño* flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of thirty by nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year to the various families by the head of each moiety.

SP24 Uru SP24
Iru Itu

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rily to the end of her recital. She stopped quite suddenly and demanded some coca, informing us that the next meeting was scheduled to take place the following morning, when "she hoped to tell us a great many interesting facts".

By this time the light was going, so we decided that it would be wise to settle the question of our night's quarters. The mayor gallantly offered me his house; fortunately on our way to the meeting we had passed by, and I had seen all that was necessary to confirm me in my decision to sleep in the car. Protesting that alone I could not take up the whole house, I nobly waved my rights in favour of worthier and braver guests. Kenneth, Rojas and Roca, not having sleepingbags, decided that bugs were preferable to frostbite, so fell in with the mayor's offer. It was decided we would use his house as our dining-room; I therefore made my way thither with the supplies.

Night was falling, a cold wind blowing in little sharp gusts across the great empty *puna*, the hut was lit with a lantern that someone had brought. The five men were sitting huddled in *ponchos* or great-coats on the bed, which was made of a bamboo frame covered with rushes and llama skins. The atmosphere was constrained, as we spread the food on the rough table. I said: "Now we shall go and heat this beef over a fire". They suddenly burst out simultaneously in English, French and Spanish: "There is no fire in the village and there is nothing to make one from". The only combustible in use on the Altiplano is dried llama-dung or *yareta* [4]). This latter is too expensive for the poverty-stricken Uru, and they have not enough llamas, if any, to provide a sufficient provision of dung.

Sadly and silently we ate our icy food. A bottle of rum brought a certain comfort. As the village had retired for the night at sundown, we decided to retire to our respective quarters.

[4]) Yarema, a fungus which grows just under the earth and is common to all this part of the Altiplano. It is dug up and dried and forms an excellent combustible. It generally replaces coal.

[p. 310-A]